

Adverbial Usage of the Hungarian Essive Case

著者	Nose Masahiko
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Adverbial Usage of the Hungarian Essive Case (ハンガリー語の様格に見られる副詞的用法について)

Masahiko Nose (野瀬昌彦)

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要旨

18 格もの格を持つハンガリー語において、特に状態を表す様格に副詞的用法が観察されることを示す。この副詞的用法は、形式的には名詞と様格形から構成されるとは解釈されず、意味的には談話構成や文修飾の機能を持つと主張する。

1, Introduction

Hungarian has a quite rich case system. It has three grammatical cases (nominative, accusative and dative), ten locative cases (“in, on, by” locations and “to, from” directions), and other additional cases (essive, instrumental, translative and so on), altogether 18 cases, shown in Table 1. Among them, the grammatical and the locative cases have been a main topic of the previous studies and the descriptive grammars in Hungarian (Keszler et al. 2002, Keresztes 1985). This paper will discuss one of the additional cases. No. 17 in table 1, it's written as *formativus*, or *essivus-formalis -ként* (we call this the ‘essive’ case, henceforth). It usually expresses a position, task and manner of the person or the thing¹.

We will point out that some essive forms represent adverbial meanings and we try to explain why they can express the adverbial meanings. First, this paper introduces standard usage of the essive and then, will show the adverbial usage. Such adverbial-essives can be observed in dictionaries as lexicalized words. It is arguable whether the adverbial-essive is “noun+essive case” or already lexical-

ized form. It will be discussed that which meanings are shown in the adverbial-essives and why they express the adverbial meanings. Finally, this paper claims that the adverbial-essives can be analyzed as already-grammaticalized adverbs formally and semantically, and there is a lexicalization or grammaticalization process of making “noun+essive” form to adverbs.

Table1. *Basic 18 cases in Hungarian (cf. É. Kiss et al. (1998: 200)); “ember”: “people”*

1, nominativus	ember	grammatical
2, accusativus	embert	grammatical
3, dativus	embernek “to people”	grammatical
4, instrumtentalis	emberrel “with people”	instrumental
5, causalis-finalis	emberért “for people”	cause
6, translativus-factivus	emberré	result
7, inessivus	emberben “in people”	locative
8, superessivus	emberen “on people”	locative
9, adessivus	embernél “by people”	locative
10, sublativus	emberre “onto”	direction
11, delativus	emberről “from+on”	direction
12, illativus	emberbe “into”	direction
13, elativus	emberről “from+in”	direction
14, allativus	emberhez “toward”	direction
15, ablativus	embertől “from+toward”	direction
16, terminativus	emberig	direction
17, formatives (essive-formalis)	emberként “as people”	state
18, essivus-formalis (essive-modalis)	emberül	state

2, The essive case and its adverbial usage

The essive case form is *-ként* and it appears with nouns, for example, *ember-ként*, or *egyetem-ként*, each represents “as people” and “as an university”. The basic meanings of the essive are shown in (1). As seen below, the Hungarian essive case corresponds to the English “as”.

- (1) a. Turista-ként utazik.
 tourist-ESS travel.3SG
 “He/ She travels as a tourist”
- b. Rabszolga-ként dolgozik.
 slave-ESS work.3SG
 “He/ She works like/ as a slave”

In (1a), the essive form *turista-ként* expresses the position of him/ her. He/ she travels as a tourist, not as a businessman. The form *rabszolga-ként* in (1b) does not mean a position, but it indicates a manner of working, “like a slave”. He/ she is a hard worker and not a slave actually. Nose (2003) investigated meanings of the essive case synchronically. I gathered 235 examples of the essive expressions from newspaper, magazine, novel, poetry, and academic texts. The observed essives were classified into the following six types, below in Table 2. The classified types are the essive case with (1) interrogative, (2) concrete entity (persons and things) and jobs, (3) fashion and styles, (4) abstract entity and manner, (5) figurative usage and (6) adverbial meanings.

Table 2. *Distribution of the essive case (235 examples, Cf. Nose 2003)*

type	examples	number
Interrogative (1)	miként	40

Concrete entity and jobs (2)	tanulóként, szállodaként	77
Fashion, style and way (3)	kendőként, előételként	15
Abstract entity and manner (4)	hagyományként, banátpénzként	22
Figurative (5)	pávaként, szentként	17
Adverbial (6)	egyébként, főként	64 ²

Table 2 shows the numbers of each type, and the most frequent one is the standard meaning, indicating concrete entity, or jobs and status (teacher, or tourist). It is remarkable that there are 40 examples of using *miként*, interrogative marker *mi* (what) adding the essive case form³, and also quite frequent 64 examples of the adverbial usage. The adverbial usage can be observed a lot in the written texts. Such adverbial-essive forms nowadays have become lexicalized and can be found in the word lists of Hungarian-English dictionaries.

The followings (2-6) are typical examples of the adverbial-essive forms.

- (2) A taxi egyéb-ként a hely-i-ek is gyakran
the taxi otherwise the place-POS-PL also often
veszik igény-be, s ezért a társaság-ok
make.3PL demand-LOC and therefore the society-PL
rengeteg autó-val dolgoznak.
lots of car-with work.3PL

“Otherwise, the taxi often make use of the places, therefore the societies are working with lots of cars there” (Az Utazó: 1999. Május: 30)

- (3) Fő-ként leány-uk, Mylla miatt nem hitt a dolog-ban.
mainly girl-POS Mylla because of not believed.3SG the task-LOC
“Mainly their girl, she did not believe in the task because of Mylla ”

(Balogh Béni, 1999. Magyar régek és mondák, Budapest: Ciceró Kiadó: 174)

- (4) Amennyire örül-tem tavaly május-ban, hogy
 as far as was pleased.1SG last year March-LOC that
 első-ként bele-ül-hettem az Extra-330L-be, úgy bán-om,
 first into-sit-could.1SG the Extra 330L-LOC such regret.1SG
 hogy egy prototípus összes problémá-ja
 that one prototype every problem-POS
 az én nyak-am-ba szakad-t.
 the my neck-POS-LOC torn.3SG

“As far as I was glad last March that first I could sit into the Extra 330L,
 I regret that all problems of one prototype torn my neck”

(Az Utazó: 1999. Május: 47)

- (5) Ezután majd más-ként beszél vel-em a budai basa is!
 after this soon another-ESS talk.3SG with-1SG the Buda pasha also
 “After this, the Buda pasha also talk with me soon in another way”

(Balogh Béni, 1999. Magyar régek és mondák, Budapest: Ciceró Kiadó: 121)

- (6) Ráadás-ként tudnivaló, hogy a francia Talleyrand
 besides-ESS information that the French Talleyrand
 szerint “a legnemesebb” célú történelmi rendszerváltozás ...
 according to the noble aiming historical revolution ...
 “Besides, it is worth to know that according to Talleyrand, historical revo-
 lution which is aiming the noblest...”

(Csepregi, Márta(ed.). Finnugor kalauz. Budapest: Panoráma: 43)

In (2)-(6), the forms with the essive case *-ként* can be classified into adverbial usage type. In (2), *egyébként* means “otherwise, by the way”, and its adverbial function is [supplement], (3); *főként* means “mainly”, as a function of the adverb [specification], (4); *elsőként* means “first” [temporal sequence], (5); *másként*

means “differently, in another way” [supplement], and (6); *ráadásként* means “besides” [addition]. Thus, such forms surely include adverbial meanings, as shown in []. Nose (2003) pointed out there are almost the forms in (2-5) among the 64 adverbial-essive examples in Table 2. The *ráadásként* in (6) was observed just one example of my data. That is, such adverbial usages are quite limited to several specific forms (*egyébként*, *főként*, *elsőként*, and *másként*) and their adverbial meanings are also rather restricted. Further, their adverbial meanings are idiosyncratic in terms that they represent certain manners only, especially, [supplement], [specification], [temporal sequence], and [addition]. Their meanings can be grouped into adverbs related to discourse-constructing strategies (Cf. Nishihara 1990). In fact, the adverbial-essives in (2)-(6) have functions of supplementing the clause, specifying the clause, and adding something to the clause, and positing temporal order of the action in the clauses.

We also found the other adverbial usage of the essive. They are not kinds of the discourse-constructing. Rather, they describe purely manners of the actions. The following (7-8) are their examples. The forms *lassanként* and *önkéntes* are quite frequently observed in the Nose (2003)’s data.

- (7) *Lassan-ként megindult a magyar könyvkiadás is,*
 gradually started.1SG the Hungarian publishing also
 1951-ben megjelent az első magyar nyelvű könyv:
 1951-LOC appeared.3SG the first Hungarian language book
 “Gradually the Hungarian publishing also started, and in 1951 the first
 book written in Hungarian appeared” (Pomogáts Béla. 1998. *Párbeszéd*
 anyanyelven: a Magyar irodalomról és az anyanyelvi mozgalomról. Buda-
 pest: Pan Press: 111)

- (8) Hát akkor csak úgy ön-ként adjuk oda
 well then only such you-ESS give.1PL there
 a szépen szóló harang-unk-at?!
 the nicely telling bell-1PL-ACC
 “Well then we only give the nicely ringing bell voluntarily”

(Balogh Béni, 1999. Magyar régek és mondák, Budapest: Ciceró Kiadó: 128)

The adverbial-essive *lassanként* in (7) seems to be strange, for it consists of the adverb *lassan* (slowly) and the essive case. This is the only form that the essive case takes the adverb⁴. The “adverb+essive” form *lassanként* means “gradually, little by little”, and its function is [showing a progress]. The form *önként* in (8) is also considerable. This consists of *ön* and the essive case. *Ön* is the honorific form of “you” (2nd person singular, but it inflects in 3rd person singular). Appearing with the essive case, *önként* becomes adverbial, meaning “voluntarily, willingly”; [intention]. It is difficult to explain why both forms *lassan* and *ön* have taken the essive case and as a result they represent adverbial meanings.

Here, we have observed the adverbial-essives and it has become clear that their usages are quite limited to several forms.

3, Discussion

We have observed that the several kinds of adverbial-essive forms are used in the Hungarian texts, and they are quite different from the standard usage of the essive. The adverbial-essives are so lexicalized that we can find them in the dictionaries. Here, we will discuss the grammatical (or lexical) behaviors of them. This paper claims that the adverbial usage of the essive case can be described as adverbs formally and semantically, and there is a lexicalization or grammaticalization process from “noun+essive” forms to adverbs.

Formal properties:

First, we contrast formally the adverbial-essives with the standard usage. It will be shown that the adverbial forms cannot longer divide noun and the essive case.

- (9) a. Péter dolgozott tanár-ként, és jó tanár olt.
 Peter worked.3SG teacher-ESS and good teacher was
 “Peter worked as a teacher and he was good teacher”
- b.* Péter tanult angolul egyéb-ként, és jó egyéb volt.
 Peter learned.3SG English other-ESS and good other was
 “*Otherwise, Peter learned English and it/ he was good other”
- (10) a. Éva evette előétel-ként, és az jó előétel volt.
 Eva ate.3SG starter-ESS and that good starter was
 “Eva ate it as a starter and is was a good starter”
- b.* Éva evett naracs-ot fő-ként, és jó fő volt.
 Eva ate.3SG orange-ACC head-ESS and good head was
 “*Eva ate an orange mainly and it was good head”

The essive form in (9a) *tanárként* means “as a teacher” in the first part of the sentence. It has an interpretation in the second part that Peter was good teacher. In (9b), *egyébként* is the adverbial-essive, but it is not acceptable. In the second part, *egyébként* cannot be divided into *egyéb* and *-ként*. Similarly in (10a), the essive form *előételként* can be analyzed into *előétel*(starter) and the essive case. In (10b), however, the adverbial-essive *főként* is regarded as one word and the divided form *fő* cannot be the subject of the second part. Thus, the adverbial-essive forms can be described as one-word-adverbs, and we cannot analyze them as “noun+essive case”. This indicates the adverbial-essive forms do not have the same function of the standard usage.

Semantic properties:

Next, we consider why the adverbial essives express such adverbial meanings from a semantic point of view. The nouns appearing together with the essive case are basically divided into concrete and abstract nouns. In the standard usage, the essive examples in (1), *tanárként* and *rabaszolgaként*, are quite concrete nouns. As a result, the essive forms can show the status (as a teacher) and the manner of the person (like a slave). The nouns appeared in the adverbial-essives (exceptionally, adverbial *lassan* and the honorific form of the 2nd person *ön*), on the other hand, are rather abstract ones, “*egyéb* (other), *más* (another), *fő* (head), *első* (first), *ráadás* (extra)”. In (11a-b), we add a concrete and an abstract (the adverbial) essive forms in the same clause.

- (11) a. Péter megölte az meber-t katonaként/ oroszlánként
 Peter killed.3SGthe person-ACC soldier-ESS/ lion-ESS
 “Peter killed the person as a soldier/ as a lion”
- b. Péter megölte az ember-t elsőként/ önként
 first-ESS/ you-ESS
 “Peter killed the person first/ willingly”

The essive forms *katonaként* and *oroszlánként* in (11a) are the standard usage and the nouns *katona* (soldier), *oroszlán* (lion) are concrete nouns. As a result, the sentence (11a) describes properly the status/ manner that Peter killed the person. In (11b), the essive case takes abstract nouns. *első* and *ön*, the adverbial-essives. The sentence reports the order of the action (first, he killed the person and next he did something), or abstract and adverbial manner (he killed willingly). That is, we can separate the essive usages from semantic types of the nouns, into concrete and abstract, shown in (12).

(12) Semantic differences of the essive forms⁵

1: Concrete noun (person/ things) + Essive case:

Semantically restricted, but more describable and expressive

Frequent occurrences with many kinds of nouns

2: Abstract noun + Essive case (adverbial-essive):

Semantically more ambiguous, but applicable to many situations

Frequent occurrences with limited kinds (*más, fő, lassan, ön, etc*)

The essive case can take almost all nouns and here we classified the nouns into concrete and abstract ones. The concrete-essives express concrete state of a person or a thing, and the abstract-essives describes more ambiguous situations. Among abstract-essive forms, some expressions are used frequently, because they are convenient to describe many kinds of situations and are used frequently. As a result, they became lexicalized and they behave like adverbs and it became difficult to analyze them morphologically as a combination of the noun and the essive case. This process from abstract-essives to adverbial usage is unidirectional and such adverbial forms cannot be analyzed again in the “noun+essive” combination. Therefore, this process is lexicalization in a sense, and grammaticalization (unidirectional from case marker to adverb) in another sense.

In the Hungarian descriptive grammar (Cf. Keszler et al. 2002), the essive expressions sometimes are regarded as adverbial, so called *határozó* group in Hungarian. The essive case form *-ként* is a case marker, but from semantic point of view, the essive form is similar to adverbial, thus, it can be considered as an adverbial suffix. Therefore, it is not surprising that such forms as *egyébként* and *elsőként* have adverbial meanings. Surely, the adverbial-essives such as *egyébként* and *másként* are similar to adverbs semantically, but their basic function is marking nouns and expressing roles and manners the entity has. That is, the essive

forms are between nouns and adverbs. This problem is related to the ‘categoriality’ of noun (Hopper & Thompson 1984: 715-717), but we keep this point ambiguous in this paper. Thus, we explained why the adverbial-essive forms acquired such discourse-related meanings and how formalize this formal-semantic process, properly. It is remarkable that there is a semantic continuum from concrete to abstract and from noun to adverb in the essive expressions.

4, Summary

In this paper, we have argued that the essive case has adverbial usage and the adverbial-essives are formally and semantically deviated from the basic usages of the essive. Further, I claimed that the adverbial-essives are only several forms and they are lexicalized. The reason why they became lexicalized is that the essive case takes more abstract notions and such abstract essives have been used widely and frequently. Finally, they have acquired a conventional adverbial usage.

NOTES

* This paper has benefited from the comments of Tamotsu Koizumi, Tetsurou Ikeda, Kazuto Matsumura, Hiroshi Shouji, Naoya Tashiro, Hajime Ooshima, & Hidefumi Kubo. The foolish things that remain are entirely my own fault. The following abbreviations are used: ACC- accusative, LOC- locatives, ESS- essive, POS- possessive suffix, SG- singular, PL- plural, 1,2,3- 1st, 2nd, 3rd person, respectively.

- 1 Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998: 321) explained the function of the essive case as “role phrases”. Role phrases represent the role of the function in which a participant appears. They regard the role phrases as adverbial.
- 2 It is necessary to explain one of the adverbial usages, *önként* “voluntarily”. This form consists of the 2nd person honorific *ön* and the essive case *-ként*. This form is so lexicalized that this can derivate more, *önkéntes*, *önkéntesen*. The derivation forms also are included in the number of the usage.

- 3 The interrogative-essive *miként* is used to introduce a question, “how”. There is another question maker *hogyan*, meaning “how”. The difference between *miként* and *hogyan* will be worth discussing, but this is beyond this paper.
- 4 *Lassanként* is considered consisting of the adverb *lassan* (slowly) and the essive case. This is the only form that the essive case takes an adverb. We cannot find such “adverb+essive” form, **gyorsan-ként* (quickly), **nyugodtanként* (calmly).
- 5 There is an Intermediate level between the standard/ concrete and the adverbial/ abstract usages. Its intermediate case is the essive forms with several nouns that are abstract, but not so adverbial and not so lexicalized. For example, *eredményként* (as a result), *hagyományként* (traditionally). Such forms are still formally independent, but they are not included in the adverbial usage.

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